

through America Online in Virginia, what are going to be the ground rules with respect to taxes?

What the Internet cannot afford is the development of a crazy quilt of discriminatory taxes with respect to this burgeoning area of our economy. That is why it is so important that the Senate move on this legislation.

I will close by saying a word about the manager of the legislation, the Senator from Arizona. Throughout these many months, the chairman of the Commerce Committee, the Senator from Arizona, and his staff have worked very closely with me and have worked very closely with a host of Members of the U.S. Senate. There have been more than 30 separate changes made in the Internet tax freedom bill from the time it was originally introduced on a bipartisan basis.

I want it understood that a bipartisan effort under the leadership of Chairman McCain has been made for many, many months now, involving Senator Stevens originally, with respect to the Universal Service Fund. Senator Dorgan has had a variety of issues with respect to treatment of the States. Senator Bumpers has had enormous contributions and questions that we felt had to be addressed, as well as Senators Gregg and Enzi.

I am very hopeful that very shortly this week this legislation is going to be brought to the floor of the U.S. Senate, and I am very hopeful that it can be brought to the floor in a way that will also allow for the important Patients' Bill of Rights legislation to go forward.

I have spent a considerable amount of my time since coming to the U.S. Senate on both of these issues, working on both of them in a bipartisan fashion. I think both of them are now ready for consideration on the floor of the Senate.

I see the chairman of the Commerce Committee is here now and has another important bill to bring up. I will close by, again, expressing my appreciation to him for all the time that he has put in to try to get the Internet tax freedom legislation specifically before the Senate. I believe we are ready now, and certainly those Senators who have brought amendments to the chairman and myself have a right to be heard and they should be heard.

I believe we are ready for an agreement that will protect the rights of every Member of the U.S. Senate and, at the same time, allow the Senate to go forward and take the first steps—it is going to be a long journey—it is time to take the first steps to writing some of the essential rules for the digital economy, the Internet, which is going to so dominate our lives in the next century.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. McCain addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. McCain. Mr. President, I say to my friend from Oregon, he is too kind in his remarks. The fact is that this

legislation was originated by the Senator from Oregon. I have been glad to assist and help in that effort. He has done the heavy lifting. I appreciate his kind remarks.

I assure him that in discussions with the Democratic leader, with Senator Dorgan and others, I am confident that we will get this bill up and done in the next few days. I thank him for all of his efforts.

The Senator from North Dakota mentioned the difficulties in North Dakota. North Dakota has gotten more than its share of natural disasters this year, including one man-made in the form of an airline strike that was very damaging to the economy of his State. I certainly believe that all of us are in sympathy with the agriculture crisis in America.

Mr. President, I have been awaiting the presence of Senator Ford, who is going to manage on the other side. I am a bit reluctant to move forward, so I ask unanimous consent to proceed as in morning business for 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE SITUATION IN KOSOVO

Mr. McCain. Mr. President, in the already strife-torn region of the former Yugoslavia, the new year of 1998 was initiated with a new declaration of war. A then-small group of pro-independence rebels calling themselves the Kosovo Liberation Army announced its intention to fight for the independence of the Kosovo region of what remains of Yugoslavia. With the wounds from Bosnia still festering and U.S. and allied troops seemingly locked into an intractable peacekeeping operation with no end in sight, Europe and the United States once again found themselves with a serious dilemma involving life and death decisions. The subsequent nine months of conflict in the Albanian majority province of Serbia have illuminated the degree to which the enlightened nations of the West continue to wrestle with the most fundamental tenets of conflict prevention and resolution. The results are not impressive.

We have not lacked for rhetoric, but we have proven woefully inadequate at backing up our words with resolute action. Relatively early in the conflict, but long after the gravity of the situation was apparent, Secretary of State Albright warned that Serbia would "pay a price" for its characteristically scorched-earth military campaign against the KLA and its ethnic Albanian supporters. "We are not going to stand by and watch . . .," she declared, while ". . . Serbian authorities do in Kosovo what they can no longer get away with doing in Bosnia."

During the June meeting in Luxembourg of the European Union foreign ministers, Britain's Foreign Secretary Robin Cook was quoted as stating, "Modern Europe will not tolerate the

full might of an army being used against civilian centers." A few days later, as reported by the Washington Post,

Yugoslavia's reply to threats of NATO airstrikes could be heard for miles around. The nightly bombardment of border villages occupied by rebels of the Kosovo Liberation Army has unleashed a flood of tens of thousands of refugees. Caught in the cross-fire, they have seen their homes shelled, then torched by government forces in what other nations and international organizations have denounced as "ethnic cleansing".

The next day, NATO fighter jets streaked across Albanian skies in a show of force that was less than the sum of its parts. "I'm very glad," one Albanian said, "because it shows that [NATO is] for the liberation of Kosovo." In less time than it took our fighters to land at Aviano, though, U.S. and allied credibility had descended to new depths, and the victims of Serb aggression were once again lulled into a false sense of security. United States foreign policy in the Balkans has once again been shattered by the reality of a dictatorial regime adept at manipulating the anemic diplomatic process that resulted in tens of thousands of deaths in Bosnia and has now left Kosovo in ruins.

By conducting that aerial show of force back in June without following-through, and by repeatedly allowing the regime of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to employ his tactics from Bosnia of professing compliance with United Nations demands one day only to return to his policy of ethnic cleansing the next, the United Nations has failed to accomplish the overriding goal for which it was created: the resolution of conflict so that the crimes of the past would not be repeated in the future. Mr. President, the scale of human tragedy before us cries out for a European response that it has heretofore been unwilling to countenance.

There is no question that Russian and Chinese opposition to Security Council resolutions authorizing the use of force to compel Serb compliance has been a serious, and tragic, obstacle to the kind of resolute response circumstances demand. It is also inarguably difficult to castigate the United Nations while simultaneously insisting that United States and NATO policy should not be subordinate to the dictates of the U.N. with regard to a conflict so central to European stability. As is often the case in international relations these days, we do not enjoy the luxury of the level of clarity prevalent during the Cold War when Europe was firmly and evenly divided between competing centers of power.

Europe must take responsibility for the security of the Balkans. The United States cannot and should not be vested with responsibility for maintaining security in the Balkans in perpetuity. Putting aside for a moment the utter inability of the current Administration to articulate and implement a sound policy with regard to Kosovo, both the

United States and Europe must come to terms once and for all with the central imperative of supporting diplomacy with force.

Right now, the Serbs are conducting a major offensive against the remnants of the KLA. In fact, this latest offensive cannot truthfully be characterized as counterinsurgency in nature; the cold, hard fact is, as with Bosnia before it, the Serb nation is carrying out the very type of brutal, inhumane ethnic cleansing for which it was universally criticized prior to the Dayton Accords. As with Bosnia, a strong, meaningful—and I emphasize “meaningful”—employment of military power against Serb military forces and associated infrastructure at the outset could have prevented the scale of devastation that has subsequently transpired. Will Europe learn? If history is a guide, the lessons for other peoples subject to domination by stronger neighbors are not positive.

Our former majority leader, Bob Dole, upon returning from Kosovo, stated that “American and European leaders have pledged not to allow the crimes against humanity which we witnessed in Bosnia to occur in Kosovo. But from what I have seen, such crimes are already happening.”

Mr. President, prominently displayed in the United Nations building in New York is Picasso's famous and haunting “Guernica.” That painting symbolized for the artist the carnage, the human suffering on an enormous scale, that resulted from the Spanish Civil War—a prelude to the Second World War. Perhaps it is too abstract for those countries in the United Nations that oppose the use of force to stop the atrocities that have come to symbolize the former Yugoslavia, or that believe the war in Kosovo is the internal business of Serbia. A few minutes away from here is a reminder of what happens when Edmund Burke's adage that “all that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing” is ignored.

Ethnic cleansing is not an abstract concept in the Holocaust Memorial Museum. Technology has advanced to wondrous degrees during this century, but the basic nature of man remains the same. He is capable of great good; he is just as equally capable of the kind of actions that have made places like Auschwitz, Cambodia, Rwanda, Srebrenica, the Gulag Archipelego, and Nanking synonymous with sorrow. To this list, will we have to add Kosovo? The situation is clearly not at that stage, but the onset of winter could change that very quickly, with implications that I don't want my small children to have to read about in their history books with shame.

The Europeans have never been very adept at maintaining peace within and between their boundaries. It is instructive that the longest single period of peace the continent has experienced was during the Cold War when the United States stationed over 300,000

troops there. That troop strength has since been reduced by two-thirds, and the stabilizing aspects of the bipolar structure are gone. The turbulence of the post-Cold War world demands a level of competence on the part of those entrusted with our national security and foreign policy that is sadly lacking. The history of the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo are histories of threats not carried out and of the strong being outmaneuvered by the weaker. This Administration's conduct of diplomacy with regard to Serbia, North Korea and Iraq is somewhat akin to what would happen if Thucydides' Melian Dialogue were reversed, and the weak were dictating terms to the strong.

But the stakes here are real. The situation in Kosovo is potentially more dangerous than was the case in Bosnia. The KLA's professed long-term goal of uniting the Albanian populations of Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania into a greater Albania cannot be ignored. The conduct of Serbia's campaign against the insurgents similarly holds the potential for spreading beyond the confines of that beleaguered province. We cannot afford the level of diplomatic ineptitude that has been prevalent with regard to the former Yugoslavia since 1992.

The United Nations' stagnation as an instrument of conflict resolution during the Cold War was, to an extent, understandable. Its failure in the Balkans, however, is a very bad omen indeed for its ability to perform its most essential core task. The Clinton Administration's inability to comprehend the limitations of that body—the U.N. is, after all, comprised of nations and not of ideals—do not augur well for the protection of United States security interests abroad. NATO, meanwhile, continues its contingency planning with a range of military options, but anything less than truly decisive force that makes the regime in Belgrade fear for its survival will leave us with a battle yet to be fought, just as it has in Iraq. A token number of cruise missiles will cost a lot of money, but will not accomplish our goals. Missing is a strategy for ending the conflict, vice compelling President Milosevic to agree to talk about negotiations. The employment of military force must be sufficient to destroy the internal power structure that sustains those prosecuting crimes against humanity. In short, NATO must either be prepared to do what militaries are trained to do, prevail, or it will reap limited gains of short duration.

Mr. President, people are dying. Prevarication, the *modus operandi* of this administration when decisive actions are required, carries a price in lives. The world will look to this body for a glimpse of the level of U.S. resolve, seeing little in the White House. That is a burden we must face with the grace and dignity and moral fortitude that comes from representing the citizens of the greatest country in history. It is a

burden that carries with it implications that none should take lightly. Not just in Kosovo but elsewhere where our interests are threatened, the world must know that the United States will stand firm and will not follow the path that leads to the inclusion of more places in the list of sorrow.

Mr. President, last night I was at a function here in Washington. All of us who are Members of the Senate attend many functions, many of them nightly. This was kind of a special evening, at least for many of us, and that is because we honored Senator Bob Dole, our former majority leader of the Senate and former nominee of our party for President of the United States.

Bob Dole gave a moving, persuasive and compelling speech, probably the likes of which I have never heard him give in the many years I have been a friend and a compatriot of Senator Dole.

This speech that he gave last night, Mr. President, was so strong and so compelling that I ask unanimous consent that it, along with my introduction, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN AWARDED THE IRI 1998 FREEDOM AWARD TO SENATOR ROBERT DOLE, SEPTEMBER 22, 1998

If you will permit me, I would now like to talk a little bit about some other attributes of Senator Dole's character. It is my privilege tonight to present the 1998 Freedom Award to Bob, and to make a few, brief remarks explaining why the IRI Board of Directors was pleased to recognize with this award Bob's contribution to the American cause—the cause of freedom.

I am at a little disadvantage, however. Two years ago, when Bob honored me by asking me to place his name in nomination at the Republican Convention in San Diego, I tried as best I could to state succinctly why I admire Bob so much, and why I thought he would make a great president. I fear that there is little I can offer tonight that would be a truer expression of my regard for Bob than the thoughts I offered in that speech. So I thought I would begin by doing what most politicians love to do: and that is, by quoting myself.

I wanted to open my speech in San Diego with a statement that would encompass all the reasons I believe Bob Dole to be such an honorable man; what it was that so distinguished Bob that I thought him worthy to hold the highest office in the land. After considerable thought on the matter, I came up with a description of Bob's character that could also serve as a pretty good definition of patriotism. It reads as follows:

“In America we celebrate the virtues of the quiet hero; the modest man who does his duty without complaint or expectation of praise; the man who listens closely for the call of his country, and when she calls, he answers without reservation, not for fame or reward, but for love. He loves his country.”

Today, no less than two years ago, Bob Dole and patriotism are synonymous to me. He loves his country, and has served her faithfully and well all of his adult life. And though his country is honored by his service, he has asked nothing of his country in return save the opportunity to serve her further.

He loves his country's cause, and has since he took up arms many years ago to defend

American freedom, been a champion for the cause of freedom wherever it is opposed. He was and is an outspoken advocate for all those who are denied their God-given rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

His was among the first voices to bring America's attention to the terrible assault on human life and dignity in Bosnia.

For many years, he has tried to alert the world to the persecution of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. From the Balkans to Latin America, he has distinguished himself as an ardent defender of the rights of Man, as many people who have struggled courageously to claim those rights would attest.

He has done so, I believe, because he had cause in his life to appreciate how sacred are those rights, and how great are the sacrifices that are too often necessary to defend them.

"There is nothing good about war," Bob once wrote, "for those who have known the horror of battle. Only causes can be good." And of his war, the Second World War, he wrote, "millions of servicemen like myself found a cause to justify the greatest losses."

They were losses that Lieutenant Bob Dole witnessed personally, suffered personally. But the experience did not embitter him, but only reaffirmed for him the nobility of the cause he served. And he has, since the day he lay wounded in a valley in Northern Italy, found his honor in service to that cause.

Speaking of America, Bob could have been speaking of himself when he said that in war, America "found its mission. It was a mission unique in human history and uniquely American in its idealism: to influence without conquest and to hold democratic ideals in sacred trust while many people waited in captivity."

The word "duty" was once as common to our political lexicon as the words "soundbite" and "spin control" are today. We don't hear it mentioned much anymore. Rarely do public office holders offer the pledge that we once expected of all public officials: to do their duty as God has given them light to see it.

Of course, we do have an abundance of pledges in politics today. At times, we seem to be practically drowning in them, and as another election approaches I'm sure we will hear them all more than once. But what we should hear more, what I believe every American wants to hear, is the most solemn promise of all—the promise to put the country's interest before our self-interest.

I think the American people are almost desperate to believe once again that their leaders conceive of their duty in no lesser terms than that: to put the country and its cause first, and to that end, to pledge, as our Founding Fathers once memorably pledged, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

Bob Dole always construed his duty in those terms, believing that to do otherwise would not only ill-serve his country, but shame him personally. Not once, in his long years of service, has Bob given this country any reason to doubt that he has always done his duty, that he has always put his country first.

Late in 1995, President Clinton decided to commit American troops to Bosnia in the hope that they might keep the peace while the principles of the Dayton Accords took root in that sad country. The decision was not overwhelmingly popular in Congress, even less so among many Republicans who worried that the mission was ill-defined, and the problem too distant from American interests to justify risking American lives. I must admit that I, too, harbored strong doubts, and still do about the mission.

Bob had his misgivings as well, although he believed strongly, devoutly, that rendering assistance to the victims of aggression and unspeakable human atrocities wher-

ever they were suffering was always America's business. So, he resolved to support the President's decision, and win from the Senate he led an expression of our support as well. It was neither an easy task nor a universally popular one within our own caucus.

Bob's opponents for the Republican presidential nomination had already spoken out in opposition to the decision, and were beginning to put extraordinary pressure on Bob to do likewise.

Were he to win the nomination he would be running against the man whose controversial decision to put Americans into harm's way Bob had now resolved to defend. You will remember, at the time, most people expected our soldiers to suffer more than a few casualties. I suspect more than one of Bob's campaign consultants advised him to walk away from the issue; to let someone else assume the burden of supporting our troops. But Bob conceived his duty differently.

He is a good Republican, but he is an American first. He has personal ambitions, but they are secondary to his ideals and his ambitions for his country. The President had decided to send American soldiers to Bosnia, and so they would go. Bob Dole intended to stand with them. They would risk their lives for a just cause. Bob Dole would risk his ambitions for them.

It was a simple, and these days, all too rare act of patriotism from a public servant who cannot conceive of sacrificing his country's interests for personal gain.

I have never been prouder of any man than I was of Bob Dole on that day when he reminded me how great a love is love of country, and how richly God has blessed America to spare us leaders, when we need them most, of courage and conscience.

Bob Dole has, through all the vicissitudes and temptations of a long life in public service, stayed true to his mission, the mission he glimpsed in a long ago battle on a now tranquil field in Italy. He has done his duty, as God gave him light to see his duty. And he has been a credit to America and American ideals.

Bob's hero has always been another Kansan, Dwight David Eisenhower, and he took as the model of faithful, honorable service that exacting sense of duty that characterized Eisenhower's leadership in war and peace. In all the voluminous archives of President Eisenhower's papers, no single article expresses more perfectly his decency, his courage, and his sense of personal responsibility to America than does the statement he wrote on the night before the allied invasion of France.

Prayerful that the invasion would succeed, but prepared for it to fail, General Eisenhower sat down, alone, to write a statement that assigned the blame for the decision should D-Day prove the calamity many feared it would be. He assigned it to himself, and himself alone.

"Our landings in the Cherbourg-Havre area have failed to gain a satisfactory foothold and I have withdrawn the troops. My decision to attack at this time and place was based upon the best information available. The troops, the air and the Navy did all that bravery and devotion to duty could do. If any blame or fault attends to the attempt, it is mine alone."

When, by the end of June 6, it became clear that the allied forces had, against daunting odds, accomplished most of their initial objectives, and the invasion had been a success, Eisenhower simply crumpled up the statement and threw it into a waste basket. His foresighted aide retrieved the paper and persuaded the General to preserve it for posterity so that Americans might someday benefit from his example of patriotism and principled leadership.

It is more than fitting, Bob, that IRI's 1998 Freedom Award include as a testament to your service, a rare copy of the original hand-written note by General Eisenhower provided to us by the Eisenhower Library in Atchison, Kansas. I take great pleasure in presenting it to you along with photograph of the General addressing his troops on the eve of D-Day, and a first edition copy of his personal account of the war, *Crusade in Europe*.

In addition, IRI is privileged to make a contribution in your name to the cause that is today so close to your heart, and which you serve as National Co-Chairman, the World War II Memorial Campaign. We offer this award to you with the knowledge that it is but a small expression of the esteem you are held in by IRI, everyone here tonight, and by the millions of people whose aspirations IRI was formed to support.

But the most important tribute we can offer you is to simply observe of those Americans who with you once sacrificed for something greater than their self-interest—those who came home with you to the country they loved so dearly, and those who rest forever in the European cemeteries—how proud they must be of you for having honored so well, in the many years since the guns fell silent in Europe, their faith and yours in the America of our hearts, the last, best hope of Earth.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY SENATOR BOB DOLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE, SEPTEMBER 22, 1998

Senator McCain, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a genuine honor to receive the Freedom Award from the International Republican Institute. It is an honor to be recognized by the IRI and also to be in the company of previous recipients, such as President Reagan and Colin Powell.

The IRI has made promoting freedom around the world its mission. In Latin America, Africa and Europe—in countries like Burma, Cambodia, Haiti, and Mexico. Bulgaria, Romania and Belarus, South Africa and Angola, the IRI has worked to promote freedom and in so doing, has made a real difference. Ask President Constantinescu how valuable IRI's training was. The proof was in the stunning 1996 election results that finally put Romania on the road to democracy.

IRI's mission is based on the recognition that there cannot be freedom without democracy, rule of law and free market economics. The IRI's job is to turn the legacy of communism and dictatorship into a future of liberty and prosperity. This is a monumentally important task.

I would like to commend the IRI staff and join in recognizing those staff that are here from Nicaragua, Romania and South Africa. The process of democratization is not an easy one—especially in countries like these which have a recent history of great strife, inequality and lack of liberty. Because of individuals like those recognized this evening and because of organizations like IRI, there is not only hope, but amazing progress—progress that would not have been imaginable two decades ago.

Tonight, I would like to take a few minutes to talk about a matter which I believe is of great importance to America—and of direct relevance to the critically important work of the IRI in fostering freedom. That is the situation in Kosovo.

Last Friday I met with President Clinton and National Security Adviser Berger to discuss this growing crisis. I told them what I witnessed and what I believed must be done. This is what I would like to share with you this evening.

There is a war going on right now in Kosovo because the United States, for nearly a decade, did not make liberty, democracy and free market economics the priority in the former Yugoslavia.

If the United States had made its priority in the former Yugoslavia democracy as opposed to unity, if the United States had promoted reform, instead of status quo, if the United States had isolated dictator Slobodan Milosevic, instead of embracing him, I believe we would not have seen three wars in the Balkans and would not now be witnessing the fourth—and perhaps the most dangerous conflict there since 1991.

Last week, I returned from a human rights and fact-finding mission to Kosovo with the very able Assistant Secretary John Shattuck. I was last in Kosovo in 1990, when the repression against the Kosovo Albanians had just begun. The Kosovars had been stripped of their political autonomy; the beginning of an apartheid-like system was just becoming apparent. Upon my return, I joined the few voices warning the US State Department, Pentagon and White House that war would come to Yugoslavia. And, it did. First Slovenia, then Croatia and not long after, Bosnia.

As terrible as the war in Bosnia proved to be, the war that both the Bush and Clinton administrations feared most was in Kosovo—where it seemed inevitable that conflict would easily spread into neighboring countries, thus destabilizing the entire region. In 1992, President Bush warned Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic that the United States was prepared to use military force against Serb-instigated attacks in Kosovo. When he took office, President Clinton repeated this so-called “Christmas warning.”

Now six years later, Milosevic is again on the warpath. Based on what I saw two weeks ago, there should be no doubt that Serbia is engaged in major, systematic attacks on the people and territory of Kosovo.

Prior to my trip, I had seen some television reports of the suffering in Kosovo. These few images, however, were only a pale reflection of the widespread devastation of lives, property, and society. Many homes have been firebombed; we saw one home ablaze only yards away from a Serb police checkpoint. Entire villages have been abandoned. We encountered armed Serbian police every couple of miles and twenty checkpoints in just six hours.

The Albanians we met—mostly women, children and, the elderly—are living in fear for their lives. They are afraid to go where there are Serb police or other Serb armed forces. And so, despite the near freezing temperatures at night, hundreds of thousands of Kosovar Albanians remain hiding in the hills—without adequate food, water or shelter. Many thousands no longer have homes to return to. The children, in particular, are already showing signs of a vitamin deficient diet; they have sores on their mouths and most have scabies or other skin ailments resulting from a lack of sufficient hygiene. Humanitarian aid personnel are being harassed and even attacked. These aid organizations do not enjoy freedom of access, nor can they bring in certain critical supplies because Belgrade has placed an internal embargo on them.

During our visit, we also heard chilling testimony from eyewitnesses to human rights abuses and atrocities, including direct artillery attacks on civilians; seizures at gun point; and, as in Srebrenica in Bosnia, the separation of women and children from men.

There may be some even in this audience who may think this is a terrible humanitarian disaster, but why is it important to the United States? What does it have to do with freedom and democracy and American interests?

Yes, with hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and winter fast approaching, Kosovo is a humanitarian and human rights catastrophe. However, the problem in Kosovo is not a humanitarian one. It is a political and military crisis, whose most visible symptoms are humanitarian.

And so, while more humanitarian aid is desperately needed, such assistance will not solve the problem. And not solving the problem means that stability in that entire region—from Montenegro to Albania, Macedonia and Greece—is dangerously threatened.

America cannot wait three years, as it did in Bosnia, to deal effectively with this foreign policy crisis. We cannot afford to wait three months—for humanitarian and geopolitical reasons. Tiny Montenegro has closed its doors to fleeing Kosovars, burdened under the strain of thousands already seeking refuge there and by the struggle to distance itself from Milosevic. Albania is on the brink of anarchy. In the blink of an eye, violence could spread into Macedonia and tear that fragile new democracy in two.

And what is the American policy response at this moment? Active participation in diplomatic meetings that result in policy statements calling on Slobodan Milosevic to halt his attacks on Kosovo. In short, tough talk and no action.

As in Bosnia, America is asking the victims to negotiate with those who are attacking them. As in Bosnia, there is a real attempt to impose a moral equivalence—this time between Serbian forces and the rag-tag band of Albanians, known as the KLA, who have taken up arms against them. As in Bosnia, the United States is not leading its allies, but hiding behind their indecision. As in Bosnia, instead of firing up the engines, NATO is firing up excuses.

The bottom line is that once again, Western diplomats are trying to avoid the difficult decisions and are desperate not to take on the person most responsible for the misery, suffering and instability not only in Serbia, but the region: Slobodan Milosevic. As my friend Jeane, who is here tonight, has stated, Bosnia represents the single biggest foreign policy failure of the United States since World War II.

Are we ready to repeat that failure?

As the diplomats' argument often goes, the situation on Kosovo is “complicated” and NATO needs UN Security Council authorization to act. Both of these assertions are dead wrong. First, the situation is not complicated. Indeed, it could not be clearer: This is a war against civilians, and we know who is responsible: Slobodan Milosevic. Second, NATO does not need and should not seek UN Security Council resolution authorizing it to take action to respond to a crisis in Europe that threatens stability in the region. All NATO needs is some leadership—from the United States first and foremost, and then from Britain, France and Germany.

Let us not forget that NATO's credibility suffered in Bosnia when it acted as a subcontractor to the United Nations. Tying NATO to the UN now—with respect to Kosovo—will repeat that mistake. And, this time it could have an even more damaging effect on the credibility and relevance of the Atlantic Alliance.

When Secretary Shattuck and I met with Milosevic two weeks ago, he did not act like a man cowering in fear of NATO action. Instead, he acted like a man who had already gotten away with murder and would be rewarded for it. Milosevic denied any offensives were underway or being planned, yet within 36 hours of our departure, a serious offensive was begun in the region of Pec.

The time is long overdue for the US to embrace a policy that will end Milosevic's reign

of terror. The United States had the opportunity to do so when Milosevic was shelling the ancient Croatian port city of Dubrovnik in 1991. It did not. The United States had the opportunity again when the citizens of Sarajevo first had to man the barricades of their city in 1992. It did not. The United States had its most significant opportunity to do so at Dayton and did not. Indeed, the Clinton Administration's failure to address the status of Kosovo at Dayton may be the single greatest failure of the already badly-flawed Dayton peace process.

The United States and its NATO allies must press urgently for a cease-fire and a simultaneous withdrawal of Serbian police and military forces by a date certain. The KLA must also commit not to attack. NATO must back this ultimatum with a plan to use major force immediately and effectively against Serb military assets if all of the conditions laid out are not met.

Let me be clear, the only language Milosevic understands is force.

With a cease-fire and withdrawal of all Serbian police and Yugoslavia Army forces, people can safely return to their homes and rebuild their lives with international assistance.

There would also be progress on the diplomatic front. Only if civilians are not under attack can Albanians and Serbian leaders engage in genuine negotiations—on a level playing field—with the goal of achieving a sustainable peace that is built on democratic institutions. Such a peace would guarantee that instability would not spread into Montenegro, Macedonia or Albania.

Let me also emphasize that a peace based on democratic principles and the creation of democratic institutions would also serve to strengthen the position of the fledgling democratic opposition in Serbia—especially by depriving Milosevic of the opportunity to distract Serb citizens from their deteriorating economy and near-pariah position in Europe. Such a deal would provide significant momentum to the democratization process, momentum which the IRI could capitalize on by expanding its programs there.

In conclusion, let me emphasize that half-measures and interim deals will not do. The options are not easy, but that cannot be a justification for Bank-Aid diplomacy. Over the past eight years numerous opportunities have been wasted. American officials at the highest levels have publicly pledged not to allow the crimes against humanity that we witnessed in Bosnia to be repeated in Kosovo. From what I have seen first-hand, such crimes are already occurring—and the ramifications will not be limited to the plight of the Kosovars.

Freedom and liberty—the principles that America stands for—are at stake. American credibility and European stability are on the line. What is urgently needed now is American leadership and a firm commitment to a genuine and just peace in Kosovo. It is my hope that President Clinton will do the right thing and that there will be strong support—among Republicans and Democrats. Many of you here tonight can play a role in forging broad bipartisan support for American resolve to end this conflict once and for all.

Mr. McCain. Mr. President, Senator Dole spoke about the crisis in Kosovo. We all know that with the ongoing scandal in our Nation's Capital, many of our important national security issues are being ignored, whether it be Iraq or Korea or the Middle East peace process. But Bob Dole focused the attention and riveted the attention of the audience last night, as he did in a recent op-ed piece in the Washington Post, on this terrible situation that exists today and the impending terrible

tragedies that will ensue in Kosovo with the onset of winter.

Bob Dole pointed out that literally hundreds of thousands of people of Albanian nationality are in the mountains around Kosovo. These people will freeze to death, they will starve to death, and they will die by the thousands and thousands if something isn't done and done quickly.

Bob Dole's speech and his commitment on this issue should serve as a compelling call to this administration to act—to act—on Kosovo in consultation with the Congress of the United States and the American people.

Six months ago, the Secretary of State of the United States of America stated we will not allow the Serbs to do in Kosovo what we have prevented them from doing in Bosnia, and exactly what we prevented in Bosnia is taking place in Kosovo at the cost of possibly hundreds of thousands of innocent lives.

I urge all of my colleagues to read the speech that Bob Dole delivered last night, which has already been printed in the RECORD. Read it and take heed, because I know of no one who has the credentials that Bob Dole has to speak on not only all issues of national security but particularly this issue because of his deep and profound and prolonged involvement, and now very emotional involvement, in this issue.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I was inspired to come to the floor to respond and to support the words of my friend from Arizona as he spoke very eloquently and emotionally about the plight of the people of Kosovo. Growing up as a little boy, I have to tell you, I saw, with all Americans, reports and film footage from the Second World War where we saw a holocaust carried out in a previous decade. And I reacted with horror at things that I saw that humankind could do to one another.

It just seemed to me, at a young age, that if we had the ability to stop holocausts in our time that we should. I know we cannot be the policemen of the world, but I am here to tell you we are right now in Bosnia. We supported our President. And we are maintaining peace in Bosnia. But right next door we are witnessing a holocaust unfold before our eyes, and we apparently are paralyzed in our efforts to respond.

Winter is coming, and tens of thousands of Kosovar Albanians are in the hills and will soon die if something is not done to ensure their rights, to ensure their safety, and to stop the bloodshed.

Mr. President, I want to suggest that one person is solely and directly responsible for the catastrophe unfolding before our eyes, and that is President Milosevic of Serbia. He has indicated no willingness to negotiate a solution that will allow the Kosovar Albanians to exercise their legitimate political rights. He is interested in one thing and one thing only—the consolidating and maintaining of his power on that country and region. And he apparently

will do anything to ensure that this remains the case.

Mr. President, for months the United States and our allies have stood by and watched one onslaught after another in Kosovo, rendering enormous tragedies in that land; and yet we just respond with critical statements in the face of Serb offenses. For months the United States has told Milosevic that we will not let him get away with in Kosovo what he has done in Bosnia, but yet we do nothing. We do nothing to stop his onslaught. For months, the United States has threatened the use of force if Mr. Milosevic does not take necessary actions to withdraw his forces from Kosovo and to begin a serious process of negotiation.

I am saddened to say the other day a reporter just outside this Chamber asked me if we were doing nothing as a country in the face of this holocaust because of the President's internal difficulties, because of his unwillingness to wag the dog, if you will. I cannot think of anything more indicative of why we need to make sure our Commander in Chief can respond, to have a Commander in Chief that can respond with the integrity of his office. And here we sit paralyzed in the face of unfolding, unspeakable tragedy.

I am here to say one thing to Mr. Milosevic: Our patience in the U.S. Senate is running out. I join the Senator from Arizona, and many others, in saying time has run out and that I will support vigorous and, if necessary, unilateral use of force against Serbian installations in Kosovo and in Serbia proper. It is time for American leadership in Kosovo. It is unfortunate that we have thus far not seen evidence of this from the Clinton administration.

If it is up to Congress to provide the leadership, so be it. I welcome Senator McCain's call for action. I understand the former majority leader, Bob Dole, has made the same call. And I join them today in support of America doing something unilaterally, if necessary, to take action to stop this tragedy, this unfolding holocaust.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

Mr. McCain. Madam President, I now ask for the regular order.

WENDELL H. FORD NATIONAL AIR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1998

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). Under the previous agreement, the clerk will now report the pending bill, S. 2279.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2279) to amend title 49, United States Code, to authorize the programs of the Federal Aviation Administration for fiscal years 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002, and for other purposes.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, with an amendment to strike all after the enacting clause and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF SECTIONS.

(a) *SHORT TITLE.*—This Act may be cited as the “Wendell H. Ford National Air Transportation System Improvement Act of 1998”.

(b) *TABLE OF SECTIONS.*—The table of sections for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of sections.

Sec. 2. Amendments to title 49, United States Code.

TITLE I—AUTHORIZATIONS

Sec. 101. Federal Aviation Administration operations.

Sec. 102. Air navigation facilities and equipment.

Sec. 103. Airport planning and development and noise compatibility planning and programs.

Sec. 104. Reprogramming notification requirement.

Sec. 105. Airport security program.

Sec. 106. Contract tower program.

TITLE II—AIRPORT IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM AMENDMENTS

Sec. 201. Removal of the cap on discretionary fund.

Sec. 202. Innovative use of airport grant funds.

Sec. 203. Matching share.

Sec. 204. Increase in apportionment for noise compatibility planning and programs.

Sec. 205. Technical amendments.

Sec. 206. Repeal of period of applicability.

Sec. 207. Report on efforts to implement capacity enhancements.

Sec. 208. Prioritization of discretionary projects.

Sec. 209. Public notice before grant assurance requirement waived.

Sec. 210. Definition of public aircraft.

Sec. 211. Terminal development costs.

TITLE III—AMENDMENTS TO AVIATION LAW

Sec. 301. Severable services contracts for periods crossing fiscal years.

Sec. 302. Foreign carriers eligible for waiver under Airport Noise and Capacity Act.

Sec. 303. Government and industry consortia.

Sec. 304. Implementation of Article 83 Bis of the Chicago Convention.

Sec. 305. Foreign aviation services authority.

Sec. 306. Flexibility to perform criminal history record checks; technical amendments to Pilot Records Improvement Act.

Sec. 307. Aviation insurance program amendments.

Sec. 308. Technical corrections to civil penalty provisions.

TITLE IV—TITLE 49 TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS

Sec. 401. Restatement of 49 U.S.C. 106(g).

Sec. 402. Restatement of 49 U.S.C. 44909.

Sec. 403. Typographical errors.

TITLE V—MISCELLANEOUS

Sec. 501. Oversight of FAA response to year 2000 problem.

Sec. 502. Cargo collision avoidance systems deadline.

Sec. 503. Runway safety areas.

Sec. 504. Airplane emergency locators.

Sec. 505. Counterfeit aircraft parts.

Sec. 506. FAA may fine unruly passengers.

Sec. 507. Higher international standards for handicapped access.

Sec. 508. Conveyances of United States Government land.

Sec. 509. Flight operations quality assurance rules.

Sec. 510. Wide area augmentation system.

Sec. 511. Regulation of Alaska air guides.

Sec. 512. Application of FAA regulations.

Sec. 513. Human factors program.

Sec. 514. Independent validation of FAA costs and allocations.

Sec. 515. Whistleblower protection for FAA employees.